

JPRS-KAR-88-020  
3 NOVEMBER 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

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***Korea***

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# East Asia Korea

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**NOTICE TO READERS:** For three months beginning in November, material formerly appearing in the JPRS EAST ASIA/KOREA REPORT will instead be published on a trial basis in the FBIS EAST ASIA DAILY REPORT. Readers who currently receive only the JPRS Report may wish to subscribe to the FBIS Daily Report.

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**ROK Sees North Korea in 'State of Isolation'**  
*OW0310010088 Tokyo KYODO in English*  
*2347 GMT 2 Oct 88*

[By Yutaka Negishi]

[Text] Seoul, Oct. 13 KYODO—With the Olympic games over without a hitch, attention now shifts to whether there will be fresh, positive developments on the Korean peninsula toward reducing the tension in one of the world's powder kegs.

Even before the start of the 16-day sports event, there were already proposals by South and North Korea for a summit meeting between Presidents No Tae-u and Kim Il-song, an idea suggested on several occasions in the past but never realized so far.

Few people here expect the two leaders to meet soon to bring about a major breakthrough in improving Seoul-Pyongyang relations which are still ridden with hostility and suspicion going back to the 1950-53 Korean war.

"The scenario (for a No-Kim summit meeting) will not be simple," a Western diplomatic source here said. "There will be a lot of twists and turns" before such a meeting could take place, he said.

The source doubted if Kim really wants to talk with No.

Saying that North Korea has regarded South Korea as a younger brother to be liberated from its backwardness, the source said it would be self-contradictory if Kim agreed to meet No as an equal partner.

"This could also undermine the foundation of Kim's political leadership," the source added. At 76, Kim has been North Korea's top leader since its foundation in 1948.

On the other hand, the source said, No would lose nothing by meeting Kim.

In fact, No could use a summit meeting to strengthen his political power base at home, according to the source.

"As far as No is concerned, the meeting itself is a matter of primary importance," the source added. "Kim is concerned more about reductions of the U.S. forces in South Korea and his unification proposal."

Another diplomatic source here said an inter-Korean summit meeting, if realized, will greatly help create a climate of peaceful coexistence on the peninsula where an estimated 1.2 million troops from both North and South Korea are on alert along the 38th parallel, the dividing line of the two Koreas.

In addition, the United States deploys 44,000 soldiers in South Korea.

No has made it known that he will not object to a partial reduction of the U.S. military presence if North Korea shows sincerity in lessening its military threat to the South.

Linking the Olympic games to the Korean situation, No said, "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that a dramatic turnaround is taking place on the Korean peninsula as the festival of global peace unfolds."

In a speech delivered at a dinner given on the games' opening day on September 17, No also underlined the importance of holding the games on the Korean peninsula, which he said still remains as "an international trouble spot."

The diplomatic source said it is certain that the successful Olympic games will give the No administration greater leverage in pushing its diplomacy forward.

"We can say South Koreans are now more convinced after the international sports event," the source said, noting that the games' success has lifted South Korea's status in the international community.

While South Korean Government officials believe the successful Olympic games will favorably affect Seoul-Pyongyang relations, it remains to be seen how North Korea will respond to the post-Olympic situation.

North Korea boycotted the 24th Olympiad because its proposal for co-hosting the games was rejected by South Korea.

Several other countries, including Cuba, also stayed away from the sports event out of sympathy for Pyongyang, but most communist countries ignored North Korea's plea to boycott the games and sent athletes to Seoul.

To North Korea's greater dismay, Hungary, a Soviet bloc country, agreed with South Korea last month to exchange permanent missions in each other's capital.

The step toward establishing full diplomatic ties between the two countries angered North Koreans, who accused Hungary of committing a "flagrant violation" of communist solidarity.

Having no regrets, a Hungarian official instead urged North Korea to be more realistic toward South Korea, a country with a population of 41 million and a dynamically expanding economy.

Diplomatic sources here said there is no doubt that Hungary had prior consultations with the Soviet Union in forging official ties with South Korea.

"It is safe to say the other East European countries will follow suit in due course," one of the sources said. "That's the general trend."

Well aware that North Korea is in a state of isolation, No in a special statement on July 7 encouraged Japan, the United States and other allies to approach Pyongyang and help the communist country make greater contributions to the international community.

## POLITICAL

### 'National Heroes' Rally Planned as Part of Regime's 40th Anniversary

41070006 Seoul in Korean No 604, 2 Sep 88 pp 1R-7R

[Text] (Seoul—Naewoe) It is reported that North Korea is expected to hold a so-called "National Heroes Rally" on the 9th of September as one of the events designed to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of its regime.

The propaganda and agitation media of North Korea, as the rally gets close at hand, have named those personages who were decorated with "hero titles" by the North Korean authorities during the past 40 years. They have launched a large-scale agitation campaign, urging all North Korean residents to "follow the examples" of these heroes, whom they have praised as "enthusiastic revolutionaries and patriots who devoted everything to the party, the leader, the comrade leader, the fatherland, and the people." Along with that, it is reported, they are holding "an exhibition of photos for the National Heroes Rally" and showing "a documentary movie for the National Heroes Rally."

During the past 40 years, North Korea has arduously bestowed so-called "hero" titles for the purpose of creating models of "those examples" they wanted to set forth, and as a means of creating in the masses loyalty toward Kim Il-song, the party, and Kim Chong-il.

Titles of "hero" in North Korea include the following two kinds: the so-called "hero of the Republic" (war hero) recognized as the so-called "highest honor"; and "the work hero."

The title of "hero of the Republic" is conferred on those officers and enlisted men of the puppet forces or the security staff who have heroically struggled for the party and the government, and who have thereby rendered the highest meritorious services. The title of "war hero" is given to those who have shown distinguished examples of perseverance in various labor movements.

The "hero" title in North Korea was originally established on 30 June 1950 when the so-called "hero of the Republic" was conferred, in compliance with an order of the "Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly," on those general grade officers and men of the North Korean puppet forces who were said to have rendered meritorious military services in the 25 June war of invasion of the South. And then, on 17 July 1951, the next year, it was ordered by "the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly" that the title of "work hero" should be conferred on those who have rendered distinguished meritorious services in various fields of the economy. And these orders have been in effect since then. Then, in December 1972, when the power structure was reorganized with the establishment of [the position

of] president of the state and [the organization of] the Central People's Committee, the authority in charge of conferring all the decorations and medals in North Korea was transferred from "the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly" to "the Central People's Committee." And that system is still in effect today.

According to reports of the North Korean propaganda organizations concerning the so-called "National Heroes Rally" that is scheduled to be held in early September, the number of those who have been decorated with the title during the past 38 years since its institution have reached several thousand.

Typical personages who were decorated with the so-called "hero of the republic" title in North Korea are: beginning with the family of Kim Il-song: Kim Il-song, Kim Chong-il, Kim Chong-suk (former wife of Kim Il-song and mother of Kim Chong-il); Kim Chaek, An Kil, Kang Kon, Kim Hyok, Cha Kwang-su (these are of the anti-Japanese partisans); Yi Su-tok, Yi Su-pok, Pak Won-chin, and Kang Ho-yong who were said to have rendered meritorious military services in the 25 June war of invasion of the South; and O Paek-nyong (former commander of the Red Worker-Peasant Militia) and Chu To-il (colonel general of the North Korean puppet forces and a member of the Military Commission). Those who were decorated with the so-called "labor hero" title are innumerable, including Paek Sol-hui who is said to have rendered epoch-making services in improving strains of rice plants and Chu Song-il who is said to have rendered services in building a large blast furnace at the Kim Chaek Iron Works.

Thus North Korea has now become a region in which there are so many titular "heroes," so many that there is no parallel in the world. Such a phenomenon is indicative of a plan to create numerous so-called "communist human models" among the masses of residents in North Korea so that they might become loyal to Kim Il-song and the party for the just cause of establishing the unique leadership system of Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il and of effecting the communist revolution and construction. This will equip the masses to competitively follow "the example," individually and organizationally, and consciously launch into the revolution and construction at all costs.

The North Korean authorities have been producing "heroes" in great quantities for just such a purpose as this; but many examples of what they call "meritorious services" are enhanced and embellished apart from reality. Thus it is a hard fact that "heroes" of North Korea are now held in low esteem because so few are genuine.

To [each of] those who have been decorated with the title of "hero" (especially "the title of hero of the Republic"), "the order of national flag first class" and "a gold medal" are to be given as [a decoration] appendant to the title.

Of late, in particular, there are many instances in which the appendant decorations are given on the occasion of the 60th birthday of a person who has been decorated.

A person who has been decorated with the title of "hero" becomes entitled to be recommended to become a candidate for member of the Supreme People's Assembly, to ride the buses free, and to receive a monthly stipend, it is reported.

A large-scale rally of those decorated with the title of "hero" in North Korea was held on 19 August 1953, when a so-called "militant heroes rally" was held under the auspices of Kim Il-song. The one scheduled to be held this time is going to be the first such rally in 35 years. "The militant heroes rally" held at that time, 1953, was an agitation meeting designed to gather, immediately after the 25 June armistice, "the militant heroes" who were said to have rendered "military meritorious services" in the war of invasion of the South, and to inspire them with hostile feelings against the South and jingoistic consciousness.

On 4 August [1988], NODONG SINMUN, organ of the KWP, carried an agitation article as a reminder that the forthcoming "National Heroes Rally" was getting close at hand. The editorial emphasized in particular that the rally was going to be held as a part of "the 200-day battle" being launched on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the government. The editorial then highly praised the following heroes labeling them as "human models of communism who unconditionally accept and consistently carry out" the plans and policies set forth by Kim Il-song. They were lauded as "the anti-Japanese militant heroes" who unconditionally implemented the orders of Kim Il-song under the Japanese rule; the so-called "the Fatherland Liberation War heroes" who fought at the risk of their lives at the time of the 25 June war; "the construction heroes" in the post-war rehabilitation construction and the Chollima movement; and those "unsung heroes" who are still working [hard] with all their might at the outposts assigned to them by the party. The editorial continued its vigorous agitation line by urging all the residents in North Korea to launch efforts to display "the mass heroism" by following in the "vanguard role" played by those heroes, in order to accomplish the so-called "complete victory of socialism" (including the communization of the Korean Peninsula), and to attain the goals of the Third 7-Year Plan.

The paper then cited examples of the meritorious services rendered by those "heroes" of the past. It emphatically noted that the heroic merits and unparalleled devotion of these heroes make them paragons who should be models for all the party members and the workers. It then emphatically and repetitiously cited the common characteristics of those "heroes," saying that "they are the hero fighters who regard the benevolence of the leader as more valuable than their lives, and who

have devoted their youth and life to the fight to implement orders of the leader." Thus it concluded that the prime qualification to become the North Korean version of a "hero" is to display loyalty toward Kim Il-song.

Meanwhile, a Pyongyang broadcast emphasized on 28 August [1988] that the emergence of such a great number of "heroes" in North Korea should "be ascribed to the judicious leadership" of Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il. It then offered suggestions for measuring a "hero," that as in the past it was the display of loyalty toward Kim Il-song, so now the display of loyalty toward Kim Chong-il is an important measuring stick.

With "the National Heroes Rally" drawing closer, North Korea opened a photo exhibition on 25 August [1988] in the Pyongyang 8 February Culture Hall. The above-mentioned suggestions find endorsement in [a comment] by the Korean Central Broadcasting Committee on the photo exhibition which emphasized that various materials were exhibited to show that "the leader, and the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il have been instrumental in making our people into heroes who display love and solicitude.

Therefore, one may interpret the setting up of the forthcoming "National Heroes Rally" by the North Korean authorities as a scheme to bring to the forefront those "heroes" whom they have produced so far in great quantities in a plan to create masses who will be loyal, with self-sacrifice from all the residents of North Korea, to Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il, father and son, and to the establishment of a full mobilization for revolution and construction.

**So Yun-sok Attends Mine Anniversary Meeting**  
*SK1010015288 Pyongyang Domestic Service  
in Korean 0400 GMT 8 Oct 88*

[Excerpts] A report meeting to mark the 30th anniversary of developing the Chonsong Youth Coal Mine was held on the spot on the afternoon of 7 October.

Placed with due respect on the front wall of the meeting site was a portrait of Comrade Kim Il-song, the great leader of our party and people.

Comrade So Yun-sok, member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee, responsible secretary of the South Pyongan Provincial party committee, and chairman of the South Pyongan Provincial People's Committee; Choe Yong-hae, chairman of the LSWYK Central Committee; and other functionaries concerned participated in the report meeting with the employees of this coal mine and members of the Three Revolutions Work Teams.

A congratulatory message from the WPK Central Committee to the workers, technicians, office workers, and members of the Three Revolutions Work Teams at Chonsong Youth Coal Mine was conveyed amid the warm applause of the participants.

Chairman Choe Yong-hae presented a report at the meeting.

## MILITARY

### Military Unit Builds Kaesong-Pyongyang Highway

41100090a Pyongyang NODONG SINMUM in Korean  
20 Jul 88 p 1

[Article by Kim Hyon-kwan]

[Text] In response to the party's slogan, the independent unit to which Comrade Kim Kil-yong belongs, left its post and came to the construction site. Now, the members of this unit are working very hard as they count the minutes and the seconds until they complete their project.

In barely 7 months since the first shovelful of dirt was removed the project is almost 80 percent complete at this construction site. This is the result of the hard work of this unit.

With aggregate spreading, bridge construction, and small structure construction, etc., the work is progressing toward the target date for completion, as if it were the final charge on a combat field.

Some time ago, the Central Committee gave an award to this unit for its heroic work which has brought about outstanding results in highway construction.

The glorious Comrade Kim Il-song once instructed as follows.

"Our peoples' army is the creation of the people and the army serves the people. The army must love the people. You must respect and accept the instruction and love of the people in order to be victorious, and you must not forget this!"

The soldiers in the Kim Kil-yong unit were assigned an important share of the highway project, and they are carrying it out firmly.

The unit to which Kim Yong-kwan belongs, was awarded the honor of starting the Pyongyang-Kaesong Highway, and the soldiers in that unit have recognized deeply the importance of this project. They have been careful when packing the road bed to pay attention so that the edge has a sharp angle. This is because the soldiers work with the purest mind.

They sifted through more than several hundred thousand cubic meters of soil in order to remove every rock, and then they built the shoulder and covered it with grass.

One of the most awesome sections of the work on the Pyongyang-Kaesong Highway project, which was done by the soldiers in Kim Kil-yong's unit, was the leveling of six peaks and the construction of a wide road bed.

To level the six hills, they had to move 1.2 million cubic meters of earth and stone. Among them, the important part of the work was the removal of a tor containing about 400,000 cubic meters of earth. Its structure was not firm enough to dig vertically, making the work very difficult.

The task of removing the six hills was awarded to the independent unit to which Comrade Choe Yong-sup belongs, and the soldiers in that unit gave serious consideration to the task and they thoroughly discussed this undertaking. The problems they discussed included how to prevent the falling rocks, how to dig vertically 120-130 meters down and place explosives in an ingenious manner, and how to block the gas as well as other matters related to worker safety. The ideas of many soldiers brought about solutions.

As a result of these brain-storming sessions, they decided to provide electric boring machines, small cranes, trolleys, and portable lights in order to carry out the task in safety and with improved efficiency, and the necessary equipment was built and supplied for the operation.

The troops which consisted of Kim Hyuk's youth shock brigade and Cha Kwang-su's shock brigade, were organized for the task. The leaders of the troops were Choe Yong-sup, Kim Eui-duk, and they were at the forefront of the battle formation. The morale of the soldiers were sky high. Finally the battle for the leveling of the tor began and 400,000 cubic meters of rock and earth were removed.

The soldiers dug, inch by inch, as they were fighting against imperialistic America.

The soldiers were told it might take a good 3 months to remove the 400,000 cubic meters of earth and stone, but they cleared it out in 20 days which was unprecedented. It was a record breaking creation.

The soldiers who leveled the hill of 400,000 cubic meters in 20 days then tackled the remaining 5 hills and worked continuously to level them without slowing down. This contribution to highway construction was praised highly.

Bridge construction by the troops was also one the hardest tasks. According to the plan, they had to dredge more than 1,600 cubic meters of sludge, and construct more than 20 pilings. That task was shared by soldiers of the Yi In-kyu unit.

Sludge and mud, to a depth of about 7 to 8 meters, were dredged and foundations for the pilings were constructed, and that battle was very hard. The troops utilized new working methods and new tricks were introduced so that the mud was effectively removed and, in spite of the possibility of a mud slide, the pilings were placed one by one. The piling operation was far ahead of schedule for placing 18 pilings, and the results were revolutionary.

Currently, the bridge construction is 70 percent complete, and they are in the process of finishing the top of the bridge.

The soldiers in Kim Kil-yong's unit are responding to the party slogan, and they have eagerly accepted the challenge of the highway construction project, expressing their boldness and gallantry without hesitation in order to serve the party and toil for the fatherland. The soldiers finished their task before the target date, and they are about to begin a last phase charge in order to show their faithfulness to the great leader.

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## ECONOMIC

### Hong Si-hak at Fertilizer Complex Meeting

SK1710113788 Pyongyang Domestic Service  
in Korean 2100 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Excerpt] At a time when all of the working people in the country are vigorously plunging into the new 200-day campaign and thus once again making a general march with firm faith, members of the working class in Hungnam are now vigorously plunging into the struggle to effect a new turn in the production of chemical fertilizer.

A meeting of the working people in the sectors related to coal gasification was held at the Hungnam fertilizer complex on 12 October to realize coal gasification through a new method. The meeting was attended by

Comrade Hong Si-hak, candidate member of the WPK Central Committee, responsible secretary of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee, and chairman of the South Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee, and responsible functionaries from plants and enterprises related to this sector together with the employees of the Hungnam fertilizer complex.

At the meeting, following Comrade Hong Si-hak's report, Kim Yong-nam, deputy manager of the Hungnam Fertilizer Complex; Chi Chang-se, manager of the Yongsong Machine Complex; Song Ung-ki, assistant chief engineer of the Facility Assembly Complex; and Yi Yong-son, chief of staff of the General Bureau of the Eastern District Railway, attended discussions.

### Mining Complexes Increase Coal Production

SK1810044488 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
0442 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Pyongyang October 18 (KCNA)—Korean colliers are waging a dynamic drive for increased production.

Colliers of the Sunchon District Coal Mining Complex are now tunnelling 7.5-9 more meters at each pit every day in the new 200-day campaign than the daily average in the past 200-day campaign. 500 tons of coal, 2,000 tons at maximum, are being excavated daily at each cutting face. The Febuary 8 Chikdong Youth Coal Mine has boosted the daily coal output by thousands of tons by raising the extraction rate of coal 2 percent.

The Sinchang Coal Mine is now daily producing more than one thousand more tons of coal by a new coal cutting method by raising the extraction rate 5 percent above that in the middle of September.

The Tokchon District Coal Mining Complex is waging an energetic drive for increased production with a target to increase coal output 14.6 percent above that during the last campaign. The complex is actively striving to secure about 50 more reserve coal-cutting faces within this year.

## POLITICAL

### Soviet Official Regrets Shooting Down of KAL Plane

SK0510034088 Seoul TONG-A ILBO  
in Korean 4 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Anatoliy Kovalev, chairman of Moscow Sports Committee, by TONG-A ILBO reporter Cho Song-ha at Kimpo International Airport in Seoul on 3 October]

[Text] [Reporter's note] Over 1,000 Soviet athletes, officials, and tourists, who visited our country for the Seoul Olympic Games, had been worried with a guilty feeling over the shooting down of a Korean Air [KAL] plane Flight 007 by a Soviet fighter over the sea off Sakhalin in September 1983, killing all 269 innocent people on board, but were rather surprised at the unexpected hospitality and kindness the Korean people afforded them. Anatoliy Kovalev, chairman of the Moscow Sports Committee of the Soviet Union, met the reporter before his departure from Korea at Kimpo International Airport on 3 October, and expressed regret, for the first time as a Soviet citizen who visited Korea, over the shooting down of the Korean airliner.

[Cho] How do you view the shooting down of the Korean airliner?

[Kovalev] It was a tragic incident caused by a mistake of man and machine. Anyhow I wish to express my personal and deep regret to the 269 passengers who died in this incident and their bereaved families. Many other Soviet people also have the same feeling. I will be more than pleased if this expression of regret can be of help to promoting relations between the two countries.

[Cho] I hear many Soviet people had been somewhat worried before coming to Korea because of this incident.

[Kovalev] That is true. But when I first visited Korea last year in connection with the games, the Korean people treated us truly as guests despite the incident. Therefore, I told the athletes that there was nothing to worry about.

[Cho] What is your impression of Korea?

[Kovalev] I was deeply impressed by the goodwill of the Korean people toward the Soviet people during the Seoul Olympics. In particular, when the Korean people cheered the Soviet team as well during the final match of women's hockey between Korea and the Soviet Union and when we danced and sang together during the closing ceremony, I was filled with emotion and felt as if Seoul was my home.

[Cho] What are the prospects of Korean-Soviet sports exchange?

[Kovalev] I think sports exchange will develop further now that the Seoul Olympics seem to have removed much of the barrier. In the first place, I hope Korea will invite the skate dancing team which Moscow is so proud of.

[Reporter's note] Then Mikhail Baka, chairman of the Ukraine Sports Committee, who happened to be sitting beside him, agreed with him and proposed exchange games between the Kiev women's handball team, the strongest team of all Soviet republic teams, and the Korean handball team.

### No Aeroflot Service to Seoul Expected in 'Foreseeable Future'

SK2509014388 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 25 Sep 88 p 3

[By staff reporter Chang Kyong-hui]

[Text] The Soviet airline's foray into the Korean aviation market is not feasible in the foreseeable future, says a top official of the Soviet Union's sole national flag carrier.

Oleg Zaitsev, a vice president of Aeroflot, said the airline was not likely to find many passengers if it launched services to Seoul.

In an exclusive interview with THE KOREA HERALD yesterday, he also hinted that the lack of diplomatic ties between South Korea and Moscow remained as another major factor behind Aeroflot's absence of flights here.

Currently, Aeroflot makes an average 14 flights to Japan weekly, with the bulk of its passengers being tourists and businessmen from Europe and Japan.

It flies to Niigata from Khabarovsk and to Tokyo from Moscow.

He said Korean Air's flying over Soviet territory will be discontinued after the Seoul Games, as announced earlier.

"As I understand it, the action was taken primarily for the convenience of Olympic athletes and officials," he said.

In an unprecedented move, KAL had been granted permission from the Soviet Government to fly over Soviet territory for 16 charter flights September 12-October 4.

The Korean carrier had been authorized to fly over Siberia and other Soviet territories on the Seoul-Paris and Seoul-Frankfurt routes.

A former Aeroflot pilot, Zaitsev, 39, said he has so far detected few maintenance problems for Aeroflot planes flying to and from Seoul. (Maintenance services for

Aeroflot airliners have been conducted by Korean Air. The Korean carrier has imported tools from overseas for that purpose, officials said.)

As for the state-run Soviet airline company, reputed to be the world's largest, Zaitsev said Aeroflot has some 3,000 passenger aircraft.

He said Aeroflot pilot-trainees are recruited among high school graduates who have been given scholarships by the airline.

About 2,000 to 3,000 pilots currently employed by Aeroflot earn an average of 1,000 roubles per month, but the earning is proportional to their monthly flight hours, Zaitsev said.

The sum, he said, is considered "pretty good pay" in the Soviet Union.

He said a one-day trip between Moscow and Khabarovsk, which takes eight hours, costs 200 roubles for a Soviet citizen, and about 500 roubles for foreigners under a different air fare system.

Aeroflot relies mostly on domestic services for the major chunk of business profits, since its international services constitute only about 20 percent of all Aeroflot flights. He said seats on domestic routes are hard to find these days while on international routes, the passenger load factor remains relatively low.

Asked about Aeroflot's financial status, he said, his airline has sustained a surplus balance since 1970.

The Soviet carrier is still reported to lag behind most carriers of U.S. and West European countries in terms of passenger service and maintenance.

"So far we have maintained close relationships with Korean aviation authorities," Zaitsev said. He said he also had contacts with top KAL officials.

The stocky six-foot-tall Aeroflot official joined his company at the age of 17 as a pilot-trainee and had flown passenger jetliners until 1980 when he assumed an administrative position in the planning and commercial division.

"I'm enjoying my stay here," he said, when asked about his impression of Korea.

The brown-haired Muscovite said he spent most of his time here working. "I like the abundant trees and flowers in this city. There aren't very many of them where I live," he said.

"I was also impressed by the well-preserved palaces around Seoul," he added.

**Thirteenth National Assembly Standing Committee Holds First Meeting**  
*41070105 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean  
23 Jul 88 p 3*

[Text] The first meeting of the National Assembly Standing Committee since the change in political composition to a "government party minority, opposition majority" status demonstrated that a question and answer type of meeting is possible.

The opposition demonstrated its desire to dig out the various examples of misgovernment, including the irrationalities of the Fifth Republic. On the other hand, the government party practically gave up its old tactic of picking on the speeches of opposition assemblymen. Hence, it appears that all of the speech-related problems are now gone.

The government side, appearing to recognize the majority status of the opposition party, seemed to try to provide meaningful answers, although occasionally it repeated the "standard answers" of the 12th National Assembly.

At the first Standing Committee meeting of the 13th National Assembly, the opposition assemblymen, in general, focused their questions on the "irrationalities of the Fifth Republic," including that of former President Chon Tu-hwan's family.

At the meetings of the Legislation and Judiciary Committee and the Home Affairs Committee, which dealt with prosecutorial and police affairs, the opposition pressed hard, asking, "Why are you turning away from investigation of the irrationalities of the Fifth Republic?" In the Administrative Committee, too, the opposition raised questions about the issues of enlarging former President Chon Tu-hwan's private mansion located at Yonhi-dong in Seoul and the purchase of trees for public streets from Mr Yi Kyu-tong's farm.

In the Finance Committee, questions poured out when the issue of "preferential treatment" surfaced regarding the cleanup process of insolvent firms. For example, Assemblyman Kim Mun-won, New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP), said, "Provide us with a list of the companies that were taken over under the direction of Chongwadae [the executive presidential mansion]." In addition, there were fierce battles over the irrationalities of the Fifth Republic at the meetings of the following Standing Committees and issues: Education-Information Committee (unification and rearrangement of the press), National Defense Committee (human rights infringement at the Samchong College of Education), Construction Committee (irrationalities involving various licenses and permits), Labor Committee, and Committee on Health and Social Affairs.

At the meeting of the Home Affairs Committee, in particular, newly elected Assemblyman Chong Kyun-han of the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD) sharply questioned Minister of Home Affairs Yi Chun-ku, saying, "To turn away from the irrationalities of the Fifth Republic is to neglect the police duty." He added, "If the newspaper reports were based on rumors, they should have been restrained in the first place in view of the necessity to eradicate wild rumors." In response he was told, "The investigation being conducted by the prosecutorial authorities is secret."

Assemblyman Yu Ki-su (NDRP) and Kim Chong-wan (PPD) of the Administrative Committee compared the irrationalities of influential people and the living conditions of the urban poor, and asked, "Is the government aware of the 'beehive' residence situation wherein two or three workers board together in a room that is about 1-2 pyong in size?"

However, in connection with the issue of enlarging former President Chon's private mansion at Yonhidong, the mayor of Seoul, Kim Yong-nae, only repeated, "The surrounding land was acquired through negotiations with concerned authorities for the president's personal safety...." He avoided providing a clear explanation of the relationship between the necessity of "personal safety" and the acquisition of the land.

In the Education-Information Committee, Assemblyman Kang Sam-chae of the Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) said, "The problem of involuntary donation to the Education Committee for the New Generation must be examined closely in view of social justice." In the Finance Committee, Assemblyman Yu In-hak (PPD), Hong Yong-ki (PPD) and Kim Pong-cho (RDP) demanded, "Clarify the background of the Ilhae Foundation funds," and said, "The presidential order and the industrial rationalization standards, on the basis of which the preferential treatment was said to be given to the insolvent firms, have absolutely no grounds in the parent law."

In the Construction Committee, Assemblyman Kim Un-hwan (RDP) said, "Disclose the truth behind the vast residential damage caused by the manipulation of the 'Chongnamdae' floodgate." In the Kyoche Committee, the following issues were raised: issuance of a permit for the second civilian airliner for the Kumho Group and the problem of licensing within a golf course. In the Committee for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, an issue was raised concerning the acquisition of the Noryangjin fish market in Seoul.

However, maybe because 64 percent of the assemblymen were newly elected, there were sometimes unpolished performances. For example, some of them were busy trying to show off their backgrounds, while others raised questions that were below average.

Assemblyman Yi Hae-ku (PPD) of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and Reunification answered his own questions continuously for more than 40 minutes in an arrogant manner. At one point he said, "I had to close my eyes because I thought the ministers were being overly pressed by their subordinates." At another time he declared, "I will accept the ministers' answers as the best they can do." Assemblyman Kwon Hon-song (RDP) of the same committee read a prepared manuscript, saying, "quotation mark...," "open parenthesis...," etc., causing frowns in the audience.

In the Committee for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Assemblyman Yi Sang-ok (PPD) wore a headband reading, "Oppose Imports," while he said nothing significant in objection to agricultural imports. He was eventually given "advice" by his colleagues. In other episodes, one assemblyman mispronounced "Yechon Airport" as "Pungchon Airport," while another assemblyman mispronounced "anjonpan" as "anjonbyon."

However, Assemblyman Cho Sun-sung (PPD) of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and Reunification and Assemblymen Yi Hae-chan (PPD), Yi Sang-su (PPD) and No Mu-hyon (RDP) of the Labor Committee launched meaningful inquiries, indicating the possibility of a question-and-answer style of Standing Committee meeting.

Perhaps because 9 out of the 16 committee chairmen belong to the opposition in the government minority, opposition majority situation, the government's attitude in answering questions was said to be significantly different from that of the past.

In the 11th and 12th National Assemblies, ministers used to give evasive answers, saying, "We will look into it," or "We don't know of such an occasion." It was noteworthy that this time the ministers showed more or less positive attitudes, even citing concrete facts, in answering the opposition's aggressive questions.

For example, when questions were raised in the Administrative Committee regarding former President Chon Tu-hwan's private mansion and the preferential treatment for Mr Yi Kyu-tong on the issue of the nursery trees, the government side responded "fairly and squarely," providing relatively detailed answers in terms of the content and the amount of money involved. In the Finance Committee, too, the government side provided full details of the cleanup process of the insolvent firms, which used to be the opposition's favorite topic. Thus, the government side has demonstrated a change in attitude.

In some committees, however, the ministers repeatedly provided the same old answers, until they eventually had to revise their answers when pressured by the opposition's persistent offensive. In the Education-Information Committee, Minister [of Culture and Information] Chong Han-mo "admitted for the first time in 8 years"

that there was a certain amount of unreasonableness in the process of the unification and rearrangement of the press in 1980. In the Labor Committee, too, Minister [of Labor] Choe Myong-hon repeatedly gave an evasive answer when questioned about the failure to issue certification as a labor union to the Liberty-Finance Labor League, but eventually he promised to issue the certification at once after pressure by the opposition's tenacious questions.

In particular, in the Home Affairs Committee, Minister of Home Affairs Yi Chun-ku persistently behaved in a high-handed manner and was frequently confronted by opposition assemblymen. When the opening of the meeting was delayed on 19 July, the first day of the Standing Committee meeting, because of the issue of five bills including the gypsy law, Minister Yi met with reporters at the lobby, and said coolly, "I can't help yawning every time I come to the National Assembly."

There were frowns on the government side concerning the display of such a high-handed manner by some ministers and the occasional "covering fire" from assemblymen of the government party.

The most significant changes at the 143d meeting of the extra session of the National Assembly, where the first Standing Committee meeting of the 13th National Assembly was held, were the question-and-answer style of the Standing Committee meeting and the open session of the National Defense Committee meeting.

It is said that a relatively meaningful discussion of national affairs was possible at this time because the concerned assemblymen could raise detailed inquiries into the government's vague statements.

At several committee meetings, however, the question-and-answer style resulted in cases where it was common for one assemblyman to take 30 minutes to an hour to ask questions. Thus, some suggested the necessity for a special technique in conducting such a meeting.

In the case of the Labor Committee meeting on 20 July, three assemblymen, Yi Sang-su (PPD), Yi Hae-chan (PPD) and No Mu-hyon (RDP), continued asking questions for 12 hours, until 2:00 am. In response, the government party assemblymen protested, saying, "This is too much. As a minimum courtesy, other assemblymen should be given a chance to speak, too."

Filled with active questions from the assemblymen and the National Defense Ministry's "new" strategies, the meeting of the National Defense Committee, which previously maintained its "sacred grounds" based on the necessity for closed sessions out of concern for national security, proceeded in a lively manner unlike that of the past, giving a changed appearance to the 13th National Assembly.

Other indications of the "government minority, opposition majority" status of the National Assembly were that the prime minister attended the Standing Committee meeting of the Administrative Committee, an "extraordinary event," and that the Education-Information Committee passed a "bill for the demand of appearances of witnesses" and issued such a demand to the president of MBC, who has refused to appear at the National Assembly thus far.

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**Reporter Analyzes President No's Political Style**

41070004 Seoul SINDONG-A in Korean

Aug 88 pp 194-201

[Article by TONG-A ILBO reporter Kim Tae-kon]

[Text] Although an Evaluation Seems a Bit Too Early....

Criticism is emerging concerning President No Tae-u's capability in managing national affairs and actions. After only five months in power it is too early to evaluate his ability to govern. We have to keep in mind the fact that some difficulties will result from the unprecedented peaceful transfer of power, unlike in other countries where the peaceful transfer of political power is well established.

Nevertheless, the political and social arena is watching the president's ruling philosophy and style with "anxiety." People are wondering whether he has been doing anything during the five months of his presidency. Some people say that President No's ruling style seems to be weak in contrast to that of the three opposition Kims, all of whom have strong political ties to the popular masses. Some extremists even say that "It is no different from the Chang Myon government." They even predict that political and social chaos will eventually be the result.

Such opinions or viewpoints might, of course, have stemmed from our longtime training under the authoritarian ruling system with its strong leadership. The prediction of political chaos could have originated from those who want some change because of their own interests, including some politicians who want the 13th National Assembly session to be shortened.

Nevertheless, there is room for questioning the president's ability to govern, judging from the way the government and the ruling party have dealt with personnel management, which has been continuously debated since the establishment of the Sixth Republic on 25 February, or from other serious problems arising from various social sectors. Of course President No's political leverage is inherently weaker than his predecessors' because of the political reality of the "Opposition Dominated National Assembly" and the ever powerful people's voice. Nevertheless, the fact that the question of

whether the president is fully exercising his power is being discussed even in the ruling party, although by an isolated minority, and does not seem to be a matter to be ignored.

#### **Does He Have Firm Criteria To Select Personnel and Direction?**

Grounds for questioning the president's ability to govern can be easily found. One example is the recent selection process of the chief justice of the Supreme Court. The chain of events, starting from the failing effort to keep the incumbent Kim Yong-chol, to the National Assembly's veto of the nominee, Chong Ki-sung, a Supreme Court justice, and to the renomination of the former Supreme Court justice, Yi Il-kyu, has raised questions as to whether the president has any firm selection criteria for those who could meet the demands of the times, and in the event that he does nominate the right person, whether he has the ability to get favorable action on his nomination?

The fact that even judicial interns, not to mention the current judicial officers and lawyers, protested against No's nomination of Chong and the veto, unprecedented in Korea's history, of this nomination, damaged President No's power base. If he were a president with a "strong personality," this could have resulted in a tempest.

In fact, it is in the area of personnel management that President No's ability to govern has been discussed the most. After all the management of national affairs is conducted by his staff, and his decisions on personnel appointments have always been criticized since the first cabinet assembly of the Sixth Republic. Criticisms have been especially focused on the fact that a substantial number of the core members of the Fifth Republic still remain in power when the termination of the Fifth Republic has been strongly demanded. President No's selection of personnel, emphasizing a fundamental change in political power was rather disappointing.

Many people doubt whether the president's advisors or high ranking officials, and the ruling Democratic Justice Party's (DJP) senior officials have any real determination toward true democratization. Especially since their thoughts on national affairs seem to be consistently inclined toward the conservative right wing, there must be some limitation on their advice [to the president] as he seeks to accommodate multifaceted social demands.

Furthermore, President No tends to pick his longtime acquaintances. It is pointed out that he avoids adventurous personnel selections of new faces or unknown opposition party members. This does not necessarily mean that previous personnel management was done based only on close association regardless of their capabilities. It simply seems difficult to expect varied and broad opinions from his close advisors. In other words, diversity is lacking in his advisory group.

It is understood that such personnel management will not lead to the alleviation of regional sectionalism which might be the answer for balanced personnel management, together with true democratization. A good example is some people's assertion that the so-called "TK connection" is being reinforced in the Sixth Republic.

#### **Is There a Real Power Game Between No and Chon Behind the Scene?**

The most important point is whether or not President No's thoughts on national management are delivered and carried out down to the lowest echelon without distortion. Such questions arise because his words and actions sometimes do not match. Despite President No's announcement regarding his progressive opinion on the reunification issue, the government reacted only after the "7 July announcement," an example which leads us to believe that the thoughts of the chief of state are not immediately reflected in actions.

Unlike the president's efforts to conform to the popular masses' wishes such as democratization, the atmosphere within the ruling party and the society in general does not seem to move the nation according to the president's wishes. It is basically difficult for his advisors to follow the president's ideas.

Some sources say that the president's views are far too advanced for his close associates and administration to follow; and others suspect that the old guard including the remnants of the Fifth Republic is still powerful enough to control the president. It seems to be a fact that a behind the scene power struggle exists between No's power and that of former President Chon, and the latter's power is not insignificant. Thus, the conservative power including the military is applying the brakes on the more progressive President No.

There is a question as to whether Chon's power still remains and if so, how strong is it? Although the Sixth Republic stems from basically the same root as the Fifth Republic, there can be disagreements between the two when the goals they are pursuing are different. The line between personnel can be distinguished by determining the personal relationship with the president. Anyway, it is a fact that there are some within the current ruling party who follow former President Chon.

Furthermore, Chon is known to take good care of his subordinates. There are many in the military who got his blessings, and they may not necessarily be pleased with the process of dealing with the Kwangju incident or the Fifth Republic's wrongdoings. In dealing with these problems in the National Assembly recently, proposals to "attack harshly" made by some DJP members may seem to represent the opinion of Chon's followers.

In the process of democratization after the fall of an authoritarian government, a reaction from the conservatives exists in any country. However, the conservatives

cannot raise their voice because of the popular masses' opinion and are almost excluded in the decision-making process for major policies. Some people, especially those who have been ousted from power, worry about the conservatives' reaction to possible measures directly attacking the Fifth Republic's core members including Chon.

Some people overestimate the power of the conservatives in the current political situation. The majority, however, think that the political situation will not be shaken by these, although there might be some trouble.

#### Honoring Public Opinion or No's Plans?

The debate on President No's ability to govern also stems from the suspicion about whether he has a firm plan for managing the nation. It was known that the ruling party developed a national management plan for the coming five years after they won the presidential election. Because of the change in circumstances due to the loss in the general election for the National Assembly on 26 April, however, the plan might not be suitable for the new circumstances. Since they only have superficial plans such as democratization but no detailed plan to achieve it, the internal discord in the ruling party can be noticed even by the common people. It is known that a new national management plan is being drawn by the ruling party. In the meantime, however, they will resort to temporary measures suited to various occasions.

Together with this, there are many people who emphasize the president's personal side. He is one who likes to listen to others with big ears, as he described himself. Unlike his military predecessors, his attitude is appealingly fresh. Positively speaking, he has the ability to be accommodating, and negatively speaking, he is too passive. Speaking of the "29 June announcement," it was not his original idea, although his decision should be praised considering last year's political circumstances. He simply accepted the oppositions' demand.

It is known that President No so far has proposed very few political plans which reflect his own ideology or philosophy, and he tends to change his opinions easily. He cannot avoid the criticism that he backs down on decisions too easily, as was shown in the process of appointing the chief justice—his request for approval of Supreme Court Justice Chong Ki-sung as chief justice and following the veto by the National Assembly his reappointment two days later of a former Supreme Court justice, Yi Il-kyu, and his request for approval. The incident of this appointment showed the ruling party's typical mentality of "Let's try pushing it and see" regardless of public opinion, and also proved that they did not understand the current in the National Assembly at all.

We cannot help but wonder which of President No's two faces is genuine; his announcement on democratization with drastic changes in ways of thinking and perceptions,

or the inheritance of a military culture demonstrated by an unrelenting conservative push. The answer may be that the current "in group" shares the same consciousness and many of the same personnel as the Fifth Republic. Some people believe that the National Assembly represents the Sixth Republic but the government is a holdover from the Fifth Republic.

The following incident can be cited as an example of President No's inconsistency: During the 26 April assemblymen election he emphasized the necessity of the ruling party winning a majority in order to smoothly manage national affairs, but after the election he changed his views and said that the result of the general election would benefit the ruling party and that it could be a turning point in the development of democracy. It meant that he humbly accepted the people's judgment. This raises the inevitable question as to why they did not present candidates and policies that conformed to the people's wishes from the beginning. A similar example is that after a month of the government's suppression of the students' demand for the 10 June South-North Student Meeting, he accepted such a demand.

Positively speaking, he faithfully follows the principle of politics based on public opinion and is coping flexibly with the changing situation. However, the personnel selection or policy-making decision has to stand, after considering all the possible consequences. He should not change his decision so easily.

#### Is President No's Voice His Own?

Here the problem of his staff's influence on the president's decisions is brought up. When Yi Il-kyu was recommended as a third candidate for chief justice, one high-ranking Chongwadae official said that from the beginning the president had seriously considered Yi as a strong candidate. But the result was to the contrary. The Chongwadae staff ignored not only the opposition by the judiciary against the nominee Chong but the DJP's suggestion to reconsider Chong's nomination. No is known to have pushed Chong, and the problem is whether or not such measures are No's own decisions.

One political observer goes to the extreme by saying that current policies are not No Tae-u's but those of his close associates. Although No sometimes considers public opinion on certain issues, he is in general known to accept his close advisors' opinions. However, there are many examples of his changing decisions made under the influence of his close advisors after he faced strong opposition from the public. This may be partly due to his personality which is inclined toward listening to his advisors rather than making his own decisions, but this raises an important question of whether he really understands politics in the true sense.

President No's core advisors include, NSP [National Security Planning] Director Pae Myong-in; Senior Presidential Secretary for Political Affairs Choe Pyong-yol;

and Presidential Assistant for Policy Pak Chol-on; DJP Secretary General Pak Chun-pyong; and DJP Floor Leader Kim Yun-hwan. In addition, there are also cabinet members and private advisors.

Attention is focused on the two Chongwadae advisers Choe and Pak. It is because these two seem to assert the most powerful influence on the president from the closest proximity. As a one time popular saying goes, "Real power is in the hands of those who most often frequent the president's library—the president's official meeting room."

A lot of criticism of the two men exist even in the ruling circle. Presidential Assistant Pak, for example, was criticized by the DJP for his deep involvement in the process of nominating the candidates for the National Assembly in the last general election, and Chief Advisor Choe was blamed by the DJP for being responsible for the results of the general election where the ruling party was defeated by the opposition. More recently, they were also criticized for their involvement in the selection process for the chief justice candidates.

Despite their denial, they are known to be persistent in the pursuit of their political power, and to be strongly right wing. They are known to be lacking in flexibility in coping with the changing social atmosphere.

As close advisors they are known to exercise their influence substantially. A good example is that Pak's voice ranks higher in the nominating process for National Assembly seats than that of the DJP's deputy secretary general.

As for Chief Advisor Choe, his role and function is growing in importance as the DJP senior policy meeting, which was previously presided over by the NSP director, is now handled by the Chongwadae staff. Since Pak is No's relative and there is a rumor that he is the person in charge of the secret talks between South and North Korea, he is known to possibly exercise his political influence on the reunification issue. One assemblyman from the opposition party criticized Pak for "becoming the representative in the South-North secret talks from the position of a mere public security prosecutor overnight." Some observers predict a possible disagreement between Pak and Choe.

Both of them are known to be believers of the parliamentary-cabinet type of political system and the small-election-district system. It is known that Choe Pyong-yol, then-assemblyman of the 12th National Assembly firmly believed that a parliamentary system would be established by an agreed revision of the Constitution. One observer pointed out that there is a problem in his judgment as an active politician.

As for Presidential Aide Pak, he is known to have predicted that should the small-election-district system be adopted under the circumstance of opposition parties

being split in the 13th general election, the DJP would win more than 60 percent of the votes. There was a rumor in the DJP that judging that only a few more votes would be enough to revise the constitution, Pak urged the necessity to form a group who will lead a movement to establish the parliamentary system, and that he exercised his influence to have more of his people nominated for the National Assembly.

DJP Secretary General Pak Chun-pyong and Floor Leader Kim Yun-hwan are real powerholders in the party. There is a well known story that DJP senior officials, including Representative Yun Kil-chung, had to wait to open their meeting until Pak and Kim returned from a Chongwadae senior officials' meeting. They submitted their resignation after the incident of the chief justice appointment, but it was turned down by President No. Part of the reasons for this nonacceptance was the president's personal opinion that "There is no rule that my appointment should be approved by the National Assembly, and I can renominate one whom our people and the opposition parties want." Another political reason is that "If the party senior staff is changed whenever there is a loss in the opposition-dominated National Assembly, the party will soon exist only in form," according to one party senior official. A more practical reason, however, is known to be the fact that there are no good substitutes who can replace the two.

#### Have Drastic Changes in the Way of Thinking and Perception Been Achieved?

It is questionable whether the "drastic changes in the way of thinking and perception" that President No emphasized, have been achieved. Other than the president himself, it is believed that there are not many who have changed. There seems to be a strong question as to whether the ruling circle has changed their way of thinking and perception in order to accommodate themselves promptly to the social demands made by various sectors of our society. It is known that President No himself said that drastic changes in the way of thinking and perception are being delayed.

The same question arises from the recent PUSAN ILBO incident concerning the issue of editorial independence. Culture and Information Minister Chong Han-mo reported to the National Assembly's Culture and Information Committee on 16 July that the government took a wait-and-see position since the incident was basically a "labor-management dispute." However, opposition assemblymen argued that this is a movement to "return to the freedom of the press." They pointed out that the current government is not yet able to properly observe incidents, and thus proper measures are not taken.

Some extremists criticize that even the president himself only talks about drastic changes in the way of thinking and perception. Furthermore, some even express their doubts as to No's determination for democratization. Some people think that his voice is not his own, but he

must adjust in his reaction to the demands from the opposition parties and the people. It is true that a lot has changed in our country since No's 29 June announcement. Many people seem to believe, however, that the change is only superficial and fundamental changes are not yet taking place. Furthermore, there are harsh criticisms that the so-called "determination to change" is floating around in the Sixth Republic, but the drive to achieve it is lacking.

Some people compare our "determination to change" to that of Gorbachev's "perestroyka" in the Soviet Union. The biggest difference can be found in the issue of whether the reform is led by the president's initiatives or not. "Perestroyka" is led by Gorbachev himself, based on his firm determination of social reform, whereas our "reform" is being pushed by the people's demands and is thus carried out defensively.

In fact, the action by the ruling circles including President No gives an impression that they are just accepting the pouring out of the people's demands rather than leading the people with their own initiatives for democratization. Of course the best policy for the ruling party is to understand the people's demands before they erupt and to solve the problems in advance. Furthermore, "harsh" remarks from the ruling circles giving an impression that they believe that democratization means weakening of the power base can be causes for suspecting their determination for reform as well as President No's management ability.

Up to now, however, President No's management style has not in any way been rejected by the public. In a sense, No is taking advantage of the difference in style from former President Chon's unpopular management style of attending all the affairs of the State himself. Some people are worried as to whether strong and creative leadership can be exercised should likely difficulties arise.

On 29 June 1988, No made the second 29 June announcement, stating that he will invest the surplus from the nation's economic growth in the underprivileged, isolated class. The economic goal of the Sixth Republic is to accomplish a "balanced growth." This goal, however, will be a difficult one to achieve during his five-year tenure, and thus this catch-phrase does not seem to sound realistic to the popular masses.

In some sense, now is the time for cleaning up the Fifth Republic's mess. Some people use the term "washing dishes." If this can be done it will not be a big problem if President No's policies do not elicit the people's sympathy.

Circumstances are destined to change, however. This government has so many problems remaining to be solved. It is, of course, necessary for the president to have a creative and positive attitude as chief of state. In

the future, however, unprecedented measures such as the "29 June announcement" may not work as efficiently as before, should difficult circumstances arise.

#### A Politician of Decision and Determination

It is not the case that everyone doubts No's ability to govern. Although he generates a seemingly weak impression, it should be emphasized that he is the very man who declared the "29 June announcement," which settled the chaotic political turmoil and opened up a new era. He is courageous enough to recall nominations to the Assembly of those who could potentially create unnecessary sectionalism, which would be an obstacle to his rule, and his determination to put an end to the Fifth Republic. It is predicted that he will at least disallow obstacles to his rule and the performance of his duties.

There are, however, a lot of difficulties arising from the political reality of the "Big Opposition" [opposition dominated National Assembly]. Although he wants to change the political reality to a "Big Ruling Party" in as much as possible, there does not seem to be any good solution at this time. It is believed that he is waiting for the interim evaluation of his performance early next year (presumably March of 1989), which will mark more than one year since his election. He seems to have judged that maintaining a low profile under the current circumstances is prudent.

If an interim evaluation should turn out to be positive as a result of successfully staging the Olympics, it is expected that his philosophy as the president elected by popular votes will be demonstrated during the remaining four years of his term. Until that time, he seems to be willing to rely on public opinion. He is known to have an attitude of wait until reality settles in, although in the beginning democracy looks rather chaotic to those who have been accustomed to a long authoritarian rule.

Since the width and depth of our society have increased thus far, and the capacity for democratization has accumulated in various sectors of the society, he seems to believe that a certain amount of chaos can be healed naturally. Such a democratic concept can hardly be found in those having a military background who only respect order and authority.

Some people have analyzed that President No's policies based on public opinion are being used to control the reaction of the existing old guard and extreme right wing in the ruling circles. Even though he cannot express his own voice, he is helpful in cleaning up the remnants of the past.

People have no doubt about No's personal determination and capability for democratization. It is hidden in the shadows of the changed political circumstances, the

confusion of the initial period of his rule, difficulties in hiring new people, and his personality which holds back from excessively pushing anything even if it is appropriate.

#### Determination and Capacity for Democratization Greatly Expected

No's personality itself may be something that we need in the reality of our pursuit of democratization. No, himself, has declared that he will be a bridge to the democratic era, it may be true that a unassuming leadership rather than a strong one is necessary in achieving a democratic system from an authoritarian system. His unassuming leadership may even play a more positive role in the light of our past political experience of a strong leadership leaning toward dictatorship.

It seems that No defined his major responsibility to be the reunification issue at the beginning of his presidency. The reunification issue, however, has become the entire nation's issue ever since the "10 June announcement" rather than a propaganda-oriented one. Of course, this is how it should be. Now is the time when he needs to prepare something new to attract people's attention.

When we discuss President No's ability to govern, we are not necessarily referring to him as an individual. Although a democratic society does not depend upon any single individual's capability, the president's ability to govern still plays an important role, especially in our country where democracy as a system does not have deep roots. This means that the expectations for the "ordinary person, President No Tae-u" is based on his hidden determination and capability for democratization rather than considering his style.

#### Monthly Urges Right Wing To Take Action

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[Article by Yang Tong-an: "Is the Right Wing Dead?"]

[Text]

(Editor's note: The author says, "I'll never be a McCarthyist. In fact I hate McCarthyism." A champion of the right wing, the author analyzes in detail today's confrontation between the right wing and the left wing.

(In this article, the author substitutes the expression "left wing" for the terms "left-leaning" or "progressive" that we have used for some time. We have been uncomfortable or reluctant to use this term until now. The author says that Korea's right wing fails to provide either institutional or individual protection to right-wing figures persecuted by the left wing, including himself.

(Korea's left wing grows every day. What is the author's idea of a "new right wing" to confront this left wing?—The Editors.)

#### The Left Wing Offensive: Freeway to Proliferation

Left wing forces in this country today are mounting an intense ideological and organizational offensive in every sector of society. The government and media extravagantly characterize this country's left wing as "left-leaning forces," but the left wing in this country is a master at masquerade, disguising themselves sometimes as democratic forces, sometimes as nationalists, and sometimes as figures of conscience as they infiltrate every segment of society and preach the gospel of the left.

The left wing overwhelmed the universities a long time ago, turning them into strongholds of revolution. They subdued the student body organizations, school newspapers, and school broadcasting services, using them to instigate the students, to pull the students into riotous behavior, and to intimidate the professors until they dared not protest the students' actions. In the process, left-wing professors enjoying support from organized left-wing students began to preach leftism in the academic world as well.

Left-wing powers have advanced into another sector of society, the world of labor. The left wing began infiltrating workers' circles in the 1970s, with the aim of forming the workers of this country into the principal revolutionary force. Left-wing figures get close to workers, who have been left behind by our rapid economic development, who are poor, and who are alienated. Left-wing forces work to raise the consciousness of the workers, who are easy prey for such consciousness-raising efforts. Thus, most low-class Korean workers perceive the left wing as their real ally and do what the left wing directs them to do. Of course the absolute majority of workers operate without knowing that they are following the left wing's strategy of revolution.

The left wing did not stop with the universities and the workers. The left wing has infiltrated virtually every segment of Korean society, omitting none. They have established and expanded their power in art and culture, the media, publishing, the religious world, and education. The left wing has infiltrated the opposition political parties, of course, and even the government party, and what is worse the left wing has penetrated the legal profession and even the bench as well.

The left wing has infiltrated every social sector, and in each arena they pretend to embrace democracy, pretend they are nationalists, and pretend to be figures of conscience, meanwhile undertaking activities designed to subvert the anticommunist posture of those around them and boosting anti-American sentiment in the process. Left-wing publicists, moreover, actively exploit the media to communicate left-wing positions to countless hosts of people, weakening anticommunist consciousness and fanning anti-American sentiment. I need not further emphasize that the left wing undermines anticommunism and inflames anti-Americanism in each

sector of its activities because the anticommunist consciousness of the Korean people and our friendly relations with the United States comprise the greatest obstacles to socialist revolution in South Korea.

For some years this country was ruled by authoritarian powers whose morality was subject to question. During this time many people claimed that if only Korea could democratize, the left wing would disappear. Now, however, we not only enjoy a significant measure of democracy, but the government no longer intervenes in every field, yet the left wing is hardly disappearing. Indeed, it is growing. Advances in democratization have greatly reduced the numbers of non-left-wing figures who previously supported the left wing, but the left wing itself exploits to the maximum the legal breathing room gained from democratization to raise their voices in a growing crescendo.

Although the left wing is expanding rapidly and wields growing clout, the right wing in this country is unable to implement appropriate countermeasures. Those who clearly are communists, for example, are called "figures of conscience" and if some dare label left-wing figures as "procommunist elements," then the left wingers insist on branding that assertion itself as a "procommunist plot." The left wing demands shrilly and loudly that the people abandon anticommunism and that this country stop being an anticommunist country, while the right wing cannot generate a single rebuttal worthy of the name. So I doubt whether this country is a genuine right wing state, an anticommunist country. In today's Korean society, the left wing swaggers while the right wing tip toes about with its head bowed. Who can say with certainty, then, that this is a right-wing society, an anticommunist society?

#### The Left Wing: Organized and Solidarity Conscious

If you compare the right wing population of this country with that of the left wing, you will discover, of course, that the right wing population comprises the overwhelming majority. Yet in spite of this numeric superiority, a glance reveals that this country's left-wing forces are sweeping through intellectual circles, and displaying an almost magical skill at seizing hegemony in each sector of society, especially those sectors populated by intellectuals and professionals. This magical skill derives from their organizational strength and highly developed sense of solidarity.

The left wing enjoys superlative organizational vigor because its goal is revolution—and thus its tactics are offensive rather than defensive—because its ideology fosters a tight organization, and because it benefits from the accumulated experience of successful left-wing revolutions in many other countries. The excellent left-wing organization enables them to establish hegemony in

targeted areas of activity where they are in fact outnumbered. By contrast, the inadequate right-wing organization in a targeted area is incapable of staving off left-wing domination even though, of course, the local right wing enjoys a distinct numerical superiority.

The left wing boasts a strong sense of solidarity. Left-wing activists are bonded by a joint purpose, "subversion" in the near term and ultimately revolution. Moreover, these bonds are strengthened by their shared perception that if their agenda of subversion and revolution succeeds then their personal fortunes are assured, but if the agenda fails then they will become objects of oppression. The left-wing sense of solidarity enhances cooperation and coordination among leftists who work in different crafts, distinct occupations, different disciplines, and separate arenas, and also gives them the capability for combined struggle when this becomes necessary. Thus, left-wing solidarity enables the left to concentrate its forces wherever they are most needed. This ability to concentrate power enables the left wing to establish hegemony at the time and place of their choosing and on behalf of left-wing figures or fellow travellers of their choosing.

Let's take newspaper companies as an example. The interests of workers in a newspaper's printing plant diverge sharply from the interests of reporters in the news bureau. But left-wing reporters in the news department and left-wing workers in the printing plant share the common goal of "subversive overthrow" and revolution, and thus cooperate closely. The left-wing reporters in the news bureau obtain the physical support of the left-wing workers in the printing plant to seize the initiative in their struggle at the news bureau. Left-wing workers in the printing plant obtain the support of the left-wing reporters in the news bureau to seize the initiative in their struggle at the printing plant. (I do not mean by this that the press in this country is controlled by the left wing. Please don't misunderstand.) A metaphor for this left-wing solidarity struggle is the way big industrialists invest in each other's enterprises. The left-wing successfully exploits this mutual investment approach to solidarity struggle to seize the initiative at each job site.

Cooperative left-wing struggle based on a highly developed sense of solidarity is expanding into every work site and into every area of the country. In the academic world, for example, let us say that a certain department at a certain university announces a search for a new professor. Left-wing forces not only mobilize the influence of every left-wing professor in the appropriate academic discipline, they mobilize the influence of left-wing college students as well, successfully installing a left-wing figure or fellow traveller in the new position.

During the course of this left-wing operation, of course, right-wing figures or high government officials accede to requests delivered by left-wing acquaintances to exercise influence on behalf of one or another candidates. The right-wing figures remains totally unaware that he is

contributing to a left-wing effort. If a right-wing candidate directly competes for the appointment during this process, he will lose every time, despite the fact that the majority in this country is still right wing and even though this society is still dominated by the right wing.

The left-wing professors at each college, university, and research facility do not limit their solidarity struggles purely to academic issues but also involve themselves in the operational issues of the institutions themselves. Nor is that all. When a left-wing professor at a university or research institution faces a potentially harmful situation, left-wing professors throughout the entire academic community rise up like a swarm of bees to protect and support him. Moreover, if the situation is this bad in the academic world, I need not emphasize how bad it is in other sectors. It is now a common event for left-wing workers at plant A to initiate a struggle, only to benefit from support operations mounted by left-wing workers from plant B, or if left-wing reporters and workers at newspaper company C mount a struggle, then left-wing workers and reporters at newspaper company D launch support operations aimed specifically at the first company.

Left-wing powers do not restrict themselves to solidarity cooperation and solidarity struggles within the same occupation or discipline, but jump boundaries to coordinate among disparate occupations and groups to promote general solidarity. For example, if left-wing actors present a play, the left-wing or fellow-travelling reporters from media cultural bureaus write lead stories about the play, and left-wing college students and left-wing workers cooperate by turning out good crowds to watch the play. The left-wing actors, meanwhile, use the play to foster left wing ideas, raising the consciousness of the patrons. Another example is left-wing reporters who go to work for monthly magazines and write stories based heavily on materials provided by left wing-writers or fellow travellers. As these stories appear, left-wing college students subscribe to the magazine, and left-wing reporters working for the daily newspapers publish glowing stories based on the articles written by the left-wing reports in the monthlies. In another example, when unions at a newspaper company, say, mount a dispute against management, left-wing students and workers surge in and clang gongs and cymbals in support. Left-wing professors proceed to the struggle site to support left-wing workers, and left-wing reporters write stories advantageous to the left wing.

Nor does left-wing solidarity stop at the national borders of this country. The left wing pursues close solidarity internationally as well. Based on direct contact and on indirect, international solidarity, left-wing forces overseas publicize and applaud left-wing activities in our country, awarding various prizes and cash awards to left-wing figures who help the struggle in Korea, and glorifying the left-wing figures who help the struggle in Korea, and glorifying left-wing figures incarcerated in our country as "prisoners of conscience."

#### Pretentious Liberals Aid the Left Wing

Left wing forces are expanding rapidly in this country, and their clamorous success stems basically from their own abilities, but they enjoy significant assistance from forces who are not themselves left wing. The representative non-left-wing force that contributes to the propagation of the left wing are the pretentious liberals. Active in academic, press, political, judicial, and religious circles, the pretentious liberals encourage society and government to exercise tolerance of the left wing.

The pretentious liberals have no systematic, penetrating knowledge of society or of ideology. But they have a highly developed sense for catering to the popular fancies of the masses and a genius for successfully concealing their own ignorance by uncritically mimicking the ideas and actions of American and European Liberals. The pretentious liberals have no grasp for the real problems of our society or for what our society most urgently needs. Since they do not recognize that our country is different from other nations, they do not understand that the ideas and policies of other nations are not appropriate for Korea. Moreover, the pretentious liberals suffer from a consuming sense of guilt when facing left-wing forces.

Pretentious liberals, then, analyze the problems of this society and propose measures with which to solve them, all the while armed only with the superficial knowledge gleaned from light-weight texts. They uncritically copy in Korea the attitudes American and European liberals adopt toward ideas. Nor is that all. They display a sympathetic attitude toward the left wing, at least externally, because they harbor a sense of guilt toward the left wing.

Pretentious liberals claim that the only way to solve the economic problems of this country is the unconditional adoption of the principle of free competition under civilian control. They claim that the only way to solve this country's political problems is the unconditional application of the principle of democrat, or rule by the majority. They also assert that anticomunism is a relic of the cold war era, and that therefore we should not obstinately adhere to it. But in reality is is quite impossible to solve the economic problems of this country by applying the principle of free competition under civilian control, and the many political problems of this country cannot be properly solved solely by reliance on the principle of majority rule, a conceit of the masses. Although the cold war may be over in the United States and Europe, absolute cold war is only just beginning in this country.

A careful review of the positions of the pretentious liberals reveals that all are fallacious, but these things cannot be exposed easily because of the skill with which pretentious liberals flatter the public. Meanwhile, pretentious liberal criticism of this country's contemporary reality based on their superficial perceptions serves to

inspire the left wing and produce masses of fellow travellers. Moreover, their criticisms of anticomunism amount to crucial support for left-wing activities.

On top of all that, the tolerance pretentious liberals unfalteringly display to left wing figures in the press, politics, and on the bench amounts to direct help in propagating the left wing. They varnish over inconsistencies and mislead the government and the public with their quack beliefs that the left wing is "innocent" and "idealistic," that the criminal, antistate activities of the left wing are merely manifestations of innocence, and that if only we achieve democratization the left wing will disappear overnight. They render impotent those who seek concrete measures to deal with the left wing by denouncing them as "hard-liners" or "McCarthyists." Thus, the pretentious liberals afford the left wing increased protection and provide more animation to the left-wing "movement."

#### The Right Wing Voice Is No Louder Than a Gnat

The left wing expands its power in all these ways, raising its voice to ever more clamorous levels, and establishing hegemony on a phased basis in every sector. But the right remains silent. Right-wing figures are under attack and threatened with contempt in every occupation and every field, but still they fail to embrace appropriate protective measures.

For example, after a certain professor delivered an anticomunist television address in which he criticized the left wing in this country, we heard a rumor that left-wing students had tortured the professor while he was on his own campus, tying his legs together and twisting sticks inserted between his legs. But no rumor circulates to suggest that right-wing figures attempted to rescue the professor during the painful torture, or that authorities took any measures to protect him, or that the right wing responded with retaliation to the contempt visited upon them by this attack. Right now in student circles in this country, students who have criticized left wing students are subject to left-wing violence on campus, in dormitories, and in private lodgings. In workers' circles in this country, right-wing movement workers are universally branded as government stooges, denounced, and deprived of positions in labor unions. But we hear no cries of outrage at the injury and contempt visited upon right-wing figures in our society.

Most right-wing figures in this country do not fully comprehend the gravity of the left-wing challenge. Although some right-wing figures do understand the challenge of the left wing to some extent, they intentionally opt to shun reality, saying "Surely it'll work out." A small number of right-wing figures have grasped the seriousness of the right wing challenge, but while they deplore the situation, they do nothing to develop measures to solve it.

The left-wing challenge grows fiercer and more grave every day, while at the same time the voice of the opposing right wing is as faint and trifling as the cry of a gnat. As if the right wing in this country were completely dead. When we review the facts that the left-wing challenge grows ever more serious and that the voice of real right-wing wrath remains mute, then one cannot escape the conclusion that the right wing in this country is dying, or even that is already dead.

But right-wing reaction to the fierce left-wing challenge in this country does not stop with docility and silence. Sometimes the right wing goes so far as to assist the left wing. The left wing employs group and individual approaches to exploit influential right-wing figures, who provide the requested help without being aware they're being used. The left-wing group approach to exploitation involves identifying the right-wing figure to target. Publicly praising him, and then bringing him over to their side on a given issue. Of course, right-wing figures in influential positions in government, politics, finance, the media, or academics readily provide help on the personal level when approached by left wingers seeking assistance on the excuse that they are friends, former classmates, relatives, or natives of the same village. Influential right-wing figures provide this assistance to left-wing figures without deep concern, even in those cases where the patronage deals a fatal blow to another influential right-wing figure. The left wing operates from a base thoroughly grounded in ideology, but the right wing functions with only too much disregard for ideals. I think this practice among influential right-wing figures in all fields serves as another indicator suggesting that the right wing is dead, or serves as a notice that it is dying.

#### The Right Wing: No Organizational Strength or Sense of Solidarity

Not only is the voice of the right wing muted in this country, but the right wing is unprepared for a face-to-face fight with the left wing. Right-wing forces are not organized. The right wing does not have organizational strength. Moreover, right-wing figures do not share the sense of solidarity that is de rigueur among left-wing figures. In spite of the right-wing superiority in numbers, therefore, the right wing cannot effectively confront the left wing. What can you do with a ton of sand? A ton of the stuff cannot vanquish a tough rock weighing a mere kilogram.

Another reason the right wing in this country has no sense of solidarity is the stance of right wing forces. Fundamentally, the right wing lacks both enthusiasm and organizational strength because it has been in a defensive stance rather than an offensive one. In the politics of this country, those politicians who have spent their careers in the government party are bereft of organizational abilities, while on the same principle, politicians who have served for a long time with the

opposition parties have developed strong organizational skills. The main reason the right wing in this country lacks organizational strength, however, is our distinctive ideological situation.

After the Korean war, all the Korean people were anti-communist. Or at least they were all considered to be anticommunist. Thus, the right wing did not need any particular organization. Not only that, but the government monopolized the right wing. Previous Korean governments completely dominated the right wing, not because they wanted to exploit the right wing and anticommunist forces ideologically but because they wanted to exploit them politically. Thus the right wing felt no need for organization, coasting for a very long time in an unorganized state. The right wing in this country was unable to develop organizational skills because it had no experience with civilian-controlled, autonomous, organizational activity, existing instead under the thumb of official, exclusive, organizational control.

The reasons that the right wing in this country lacks a sense of solidarity are the deep-rooted idea that all the Korean people are right wing and the extraordinary favoritism typical of right-wing figures in this country. If all the people are right wing, then there is no particular need for right-wing figures to develop a sense of solidarity. If all the people are right wing, then as a minimum the right wing will be riven by social competition. Since people naturally harbor antipathy for those against whom they compete, nobody should expect to find a sense of solidarity among the right wing in this country.

The right wing figures of this country, moreover, wove this country's traditional favoritism into the very fabric of society, undercutting any real chance for right-wing solidarity based on ideological affinity. The customary right-wing practice in this country has been to regard the personal connections that undergird traditional favoritism as more important than attraction between ideological comrades. This practice is not changing, even under the grave right-wing challenge. Doubtless a number of reasons explain why the right wing only dimly appreciates the gravity of the left-wing challenge, but the chief reason is that favoritism has become such a part of us that a firm sense of solidarity among right-wing figures simply does not exist. Right-wing figures regard left-wing figures with whom they have personal connections to be more important than right-wing figures with whom they have no such ties. When right-wing figures help left-wing figures with whom they have connections, the situation is such that often a right-wing figure competing with the left-wing figure ends up suffering a loss because of the favoritism provided his well-connected competitor. In this situation, right-wing powers cannot develop a sense of solidarity.

This is the reason that the left-wing challenge is so serious and dangerous, yet the right wing is unable to undertake measures to counter it. As fragmented as the

right wing is, when a group within the right wing moves to adopt such countermeasures, a second right-wing faction will react with sarcasm and criticism, weakening the movement from within. Thus the enormous right wing with its overwhelming majority in numbers but bereft of organizational power or a sense of solidarity continues to pursue only internal division in the fact of the strong attacks of the much smaller left wing. At the same time, right-wing figures utter comments completely divorced from the reality of the times, like, "If we rise up we can crush that trifling left wing in a second."

#### The Right Wing Affects an Air of Dignity

The right wing powers in this country are numerically superior but do not wield that power, so the left wing attacks and contemptuously mistreats many right-wing figures. In addition to what I've said above, I've outlined below the reasons why the left wing persecutes the right wing in a right-wing country.

First, right-wing figures believe that someone else will fight their ideological battles for them and therefore only weakly confront the left wing. There is a strong tendency among most of the right-wing figures in this country to leave the ideological war to those who will exercise exclusive responsibility for it. They say: "Those who do it professionally should be responsible for it. We shouldn't have to get our hands dirty." Most right-wing figures want to do nothing more than enjoy the fruits of a right-wing victory in an ideological war fought by others. The higher the social position, the more pronounced is this tendency among right-wing figures. Not only do they believe that ideological warfare with the left wing is nothing for them to be involved in personally, but they treat the left wing with a genteel and elegant smile because they want to be admired by the left wing also. Given this tendency among right-wing figures, the right wing remains impotent before the challenge of the left wing.

Second, a very large number of the right-wing figures in this country have little fondness for either their right-wing compatriots or the right-wing structure, leaving the right wing impotent before the challenge of the left wing. The right-wing figures in our country, especially those figures in the so-called leadership class, have the mentality of refugees. If an upheaval occurred, they are not prepared to stay and fight it out, but are instead predisposed by their mentality to flee to a place of refuge instead. This, then, is their refugee mentality, and although one reason for it is the history of this country, a more basic reason is that they have little fondness for their compatriots or the right-wing structure. If they loved their brothers and regarded the structure as precious they would never really consider fleeing in case of revolt or war.

Because the right-wing figures at the leadership levels of this country do not have that fondness, they send their children abroad, and they secretly hoard money overseas

to provide the means necessary to flee overseas. Because they have no affection for their brothers or the structure, they do nothing to help a brother even when he has been left out in the cold by our rapid economic progress. On the other hand, these right-wing leaders fawned over the corrupt and dictatorial people who relied on unethical and authoritarian means to crush liberal democracy in this country. These are the right-wing leaders who siphoned off the cream during those years.

The right wing cannot strongly confront the challenge of the left wing because many right-wing figures, especially those at leadership levels, have no fondness for their brothers or the structure and preserve a refugee mentality. Until and unless the right wing develops the strong conviction that they will live or die only on the soil of this country and only under liberal democracy, then the right wing will be unable to endure the attack of the left wing.

Third, because many right-wing figures in this country are unable to maintain moral superiority over the left wing, the right wing cannot strongly resist the challenge from the left wing. The political history of this nation is labyrinthine, and past governments of this country have been bereft of morality. Moreover, the economy of this country has extravagantly ignored social justice and economic ethics. Anyone who aspired to some measure of wealth or social status and lived amid our tangled political history, immoral politics, and immoral economics found it virtually impossible to emerge unscathed morally.

Thus, most right-wing figures who enjoy wealth and status in our society today can lay no claim to moral superiority. These right-wing figures have a purity phobia. They want to run away when confronted with an unsullied man, even if such a man is left wing or an antistate activist. Figures at the leadership level of this country who call themselves right wing have lost their sense of moral superiority and are caught up in a purity phobia. Thus the right wing is impotent against a left-wing challenge characterized by youthful innocence.

#### **The Right Wing Has No Vigor Among the Young Generation**

Fourth, the right-wing forces in this country are not well armed with doctrine, and because they haven't tried to nurture right-wing forces among the younger generation they are powerless before the left wing, which is based on the younger generation.

The left-wing forces of this nation are based on the younger generation, generally those under 40. These people use left-wing doctrine to analyze our society and formulate left-wing solutions to society's problems. Moreover, since the 1970s they have been working with a fervor bordering on madness to recruit, train, and organize left-wing powers, centering their efforts on the campuses and among the laborers of this country.

Meanwhile, what has the established, right-wing generation done to counter them? The established generation's right-wing forces have failed to analyze our society's problems and have failed to conduct theoretic training to promote definite solutions to society's problems. The majority of the right wing of the established generation does not possess the high degree of "problem consciousness" that would cause them to seek solutions to society's problems. Moreover, the established right wing did not anticipate the need to conduct ideological warfare with the left wing, and so they have not sponsored the doctrinal training necessary to win such a confrontation. The result is that the right wing is powerless before the left wing challenge of the younger generation, which is thoroughly armed with doctrine.

The established generation's right wing failed to address the need to try to recruit and train right-wing elements among the younger generation. Not only did they not try, they had no interest in trying. The established generation's right wing left the responsibility for ideological education of the young generation solely to the schools, and anticommunist education in the schools was ineffectual, rife with fallacy, and not integrated into the students' daily lives. By the time a student arrived at university, therefore, he was spontaneously imbued with the perfectly fitted "antianticommunism." Among the younger generation of today, then, "antianticommunism" is the predominant left-wing ideological trend, and left-wing powers have seized the initiative. Thus, the right wing is virtually powerless among the younger generation and has failed to form action groups composed of pure and ardent members of the younger generation.

Fifth, the right wing in this country is impotent because past dictatorial governments have exploited the right wing and anticomunism. The past dictatorial governments of this country used the officially led anticommunist organizations as adjunct political parties supporting dictatorship. The result was that the anticommunist organizations became little more than slaves to dictatorship. Ultimately the masses came to regard the right wing itself as a wholesale source of acquiescent labor for dictatorship, whether or not the right wing was linked with the anticommunist organizations. Thus, the right wing appeal to the general masses has suffered severe attenuation. This also provoked the present social climate in which many believe that if we achieve democratization, then anticomunism must also be discarded. The result is that so long as the left wing continues to scream for democratization, it is free to espouse "anti-anticommunism" and "anti-right-wingism," and the right wing has no choice but suffer the blow to its morale.

Sixth, the right wing in this country is so seriously fissured that it is impotent before the left wing's attack. The right wing in this country is so gravely divided between government and opposition camps that it cannot unite before the challenge of the left wing. The

government party monopolizes power so tightly that it cannot tolerate right-wing figures from among the opposition. The government is unwilling to provide a share of power to right-wing figures from the opposition side, although it displays a level of tolerance for the left wing. The government party seems determined to applaud the left wing when the left criticizes an opposition party.

Opposition parties cooperate with the left wing in order to seize power from the government party, and they defend the left wing as a means of paying for that cooperation. The right wing cannot mount an effective, unified response to the left-wing challenge in such a situation. Today's reality, in fact, is that when one element of the right wing confronts the left wing, another element of the right wing reacts with restraint.

#### We Have Reason To Be Concerned That a Left-Wing Government May Take Power

In our confused march to democracy, left-wing forces expand every day, and the left-wing challenge gains strength each day as well. The right wing must confront this phenomenon, but if the present situation continues, if the right wing remains unfocused, if the right wing continues to flutter impotently, what will happen to this country?

My conclusion is that if the present situation continues, this country will witness the first-ever left-wing government. In the first stage, a government formed from left wing forces linked with other forces will come to power. In the second stage a coalition government formed with the left wing as the leading element will rule. Ultimately, a completely communist government will come to power in this country. With the younger generation as its base, the left wing will expand, and their challenge will toughen. The right wing is virtually impotent now, and if it loses even more vitality among the younger generation, then who will be left to block the phased emergence of left-wing government in this country as the established generation passes from the scene and the present generation assumes societal leadership?

The established generation's right wing in this country does not accurately grasp the real character or strength of the left wing. The right-wing figures of the established generation do not fully comprehend the true nature of the left wing because of deceptive tactics and the misleading initiatives of the pretentious liberals. Even less does the right wing understand the innocent young people and the radical idealists. In our country people consider the young to be innocent, and our people cling to the adamant but erroneous conviction that as a people we must treat with magnanimity young persons who err. This deep-seated attitude causes the right wing in this country to misjudge the left wing's true nature and triggers misguided right-wing responses.

Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin were the major figures in Russia's Bolshevik revolution, leading the communist revolution starting before 1920. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Deng Xiaoping communized the Chinese mainland, and they also became active in the communist revolutionary cause around 1920. The Khmer Rouge which communized Cambodia was a "group of children," composed of a leadership group in its 20s and 30s and an army of young boys and girls 12-and 13-years old. A communist is unerringly a communist, whether he is a youth or even a child. Youthful left-wing elements are left-wing elements as surely as old left-wing elements are left-wing elements.

If we continue to regard the young as innocent, and if we continue to believe that we must treat the innocent with generosity, and if for these reasons we continue to regard lightly and treat with generosity the left wing of this country, based as it is on the young generation, then at some not so distant time the left wing based on the younger generation will win mastery over this country's right wing, centered as it is on the established generation, and establish a left-wing government here too, just as the Khmer Rouge communized Cambodia.

Centered as it was in the established generation, the right wing in Cambodia sank into oblivion not because the Khmer Rouge were older or because the Khmer Rouge were of an old, cynical generation. The debacle happened because the right wing among the established generation failed to accurately grasp the true nature of the Khmer Rouge, failed to remedy their own impotence, and erred in the way they confronted the challenge. Only as the right wing of Cambodia's established generation fell under the guns and bayonets of the Khmer Rouge's teenage army did they realize the foolishness of treating communists with largesse because they were young or because they were innocent. The right-wing forces in this country must accurately recognize that the existence of a "young left wing" or a "pure left wing" is a frightening phenomenon.

Another reason why the right wing in the established generation in this country misunderstands the left wing is that we underestimate their strength. We cannot know with precision just how many people in this country comprise the left wing. Estimates vary, of course, with the definition of "left wing." Generally speaking, however, a very large number of people lead, participate in, and provide support to some form of revolution, whatever name they may assign to that revolution. If we take the number of people who participated in the Inchon incident or the number of people who participated in 1987 rallies led by so-called left-leaning elements and posit that only ten percent of these were left wing, then the size of the left wing in this country far exceeds most people's estimates. Indeed we must say that the number is phenomenally high.

The left wing in this country does not formally label itself left wing, and the right wing among the established generation in this country engages in wishful thinking,

pegging left wing numbers ridiculously low, and thus tends to underestimate left-wing strength. However, we must understand fully that the fact is that the scale of left-wing forces has expanded to the point where the government is no longer capable of controlling it.

When we consider that the left wing in this country, based as it is on the younger generation, has very strong revolutionary convictions and that the size of the left wing exceeds the government's capacity to control, then we can easily understand the concern that if the present situation continues then a left wing government will emerge in this country.

Even now the left wing heavily influences this country. The opposition parties influence the government, dissident figures influence the opposition parties, and left-wing figures wrap the dissidents around their little fingers. In our situation today, the right wing must have right understanding.

#### Now Is the Time for the Right Wing To Stand Up

If the present situation continues, then without fail the time will come when the left wing will dominate this country. I do not know whether that will happen in ten years, or a generation from now, but that day will surely come. To thwart that tragedy, the right wing must not allow the present situation to continue. Nor is that sufficient. The right wing must establish mastery over the left wing and remove it.

However, the right wing in the established generation has a strong tendency to indolence. They expect the government or the army to do their work for them. The indolent thinking is: "Well, if the left wing continues to run amuck the government will step in and take decisive measures, right?"

Reality, however, will not allow us to tolerate anyone who entertains that kind of expectation about the government or the Army. The base of support for the present government is so narrow that the government is busy enough just trying to maintain its political equilibrium and is therefore in no position to turn its thoughts toward a purge of the left wing. If the government intends to maintain its hold on political power, then it must conform to every whim of the masses. The bulk of the masses unconditionally opposes the government's use of hard-line measures. Meanwhile, the opposition parties are afraid that hard-line forces will emerge, so they provide appropriate aid to the present government and are therefore in a position to weigh in with the government to oppose hard-line measures. Thus, the present government cannot even call the left wing the "left wing," but uses weaker terms, like "left-leaning powers" or what is worse, "progressive forces." At the same time, the government adopts an attitude of whole-hearted toleration, putting toleration first, toleration second, and toleration third.

Clearly, no one can reasonably expect the present government, which cannot call the left wing the left wing, to extirpate the left wing. Not only this government, but any future government which continues to pursue democracy will be unable to demolish the left wing merely through the application of government power.

It is unreasonable to expect the army to extirpate the left wing. The people of this country mistrust the military completely because the army has wrongly interfered in politics. In the situation prevailing today, where the people's perceptions of the military's history of involvement in politics are so extremely negative, one doubts whether the military could count on the trust and support of the people were the military once again to enter the stage, even if the army did so for the express purpose of demolishing the left wing.

Moreover, the organization of labor is proceeding at a very rapid pace in this country today, led of course by the left wing. This too casts doubt on whether a military intervention could succeed. A military intervention in politics can succeed easily only so long as the antimilitary workers remain unorganized. If the military were to intervene in politics, and the left wing cried out for help to "protect democracy" while organizing a combined front of students, workers, and opposition figures, who then went on to resist the army with ad hoc weapons, no one can say with assurance where the situation would lead. Therefore, it is unreasonable to expect that: "Well, then the army will come in and knock them down, right?"

Who, then, will assume the task of gaining mastery over the left wing and removing it? The only answer is right-wing civilian forces. Right-wing civilian forces must take the lead in meeting the left-wing challenge. They must organize and strengthen their solidarity. At the same time, of course, when necessary they must receive the right-wing support of the government and non-civilian sectors.

The right-wing civilian forces in this country must stand and confront the left-wing challenge. The faster the right wing rallies itself the more effective it will be. Moreover we have now reached the stage where even a short delay will result in heavy right-wing sacrifice. The right wing must stand up now, stand up to protect itself, stand up to protect our younger generation, and stand up to protect our descendants from suffering under a communist system.

The right wing in each segment of society must rally totally to clash face-to-face with the left wing, relying on doctrine that is doctrine, on organization that is organization, on financial resources that are financial resources, and on physical power that is physical power. The right wing in this country enjoys far greater power than does the visible left wing. But if that power cannot be used at the proper moment, then the right wing may never be able to bring it fully to bear, as was the case with

the right wing in Cambodia. If we are irresolute, then the nation will fall to the left wing. The power that the Cambodian right could muster was overwhelming, but they failed to rally and deploy that power at the proper time, so 12- and 13-year-old red teenagers seized the country from under them. These teenagers visited every form of malice upon them, battering Cambodia's right wing so that in the end they were skeletons before they had time enough even for a good cry. The right wing of this country must never forget the incredible calamity of Cambodia's right wing.

#### A New Right Wing Is Necessary

Then who will lead a rally of the right wing? As I suggested above, neither the government nor the military is able to lead a right-wing rally. Only right-wing civilian powers can possibly lead it. If this right-wing rally is to be effective in achieving the goal of mastering and removing the left wing, then even within right-wing civilian forces, leadership elements must meet the following criteria.

First, these forces must have a strong ability to persuade the broad masses of our people in matters of ideology and ethics. The fight with the left wing getting underway now is a clash of ideologies, a fight to see which side can attract more of the masses to its banner. Thus, the powers which can rally the right wing must be those who are well-armed with doctrine, those who can easily persuade the masses to see the need to rally against the left wing, and those who can overwhelm the left wing in public doctrinal debates.

Those who lead the right-wing rally must be above reproach, free of taint in their public and private lives. Men who in the past played the kisaeng [female entertainer] to dictatorship, who shared in corruption, who even today ignore the pain visited on the masses by poverty and alienation, and whose chief interest is the good life, these men have no appeal to the masses whatsoever, no matter how well armed they may be with doctrine. If men of this kind appear at the leading edge of a right-wing rally, they will be greeted only with skepticism, "Not these guys again!"

Second, we must have leaders who will redress the inconsistencies and corruption in Korean society, who have a sense of reform sufficient to enable them to build social justice. The right-wing rally capable of confronting the left-wing challenge will not have as its goal the protection of the existing social structure or any other form of vested interest. The right-wing rally has as its first purpose the mastery and removal of the left wing, but its eventual purpose must be to build a healthy society, one that will not be susceptible to a future threat from within.

In certain respects, our society can be said to be an efficient producer of revolutionary, left-wing elements. Every segment of our society is rife with inconsistencies

and corruption, facts which enrage the younger generation. Their rage leads our young people to embark on the road of left-wing revolution. Many other people who are enraged by these social inconsistencies applaud the left-wing call for "overthrow." While these social conditions remain unchanged, a victory for the right wing cannot be guaranteed even if we choose to enter the lists against the left wing. Thus, those who would lead the right-wing rally to repel the left-wing challenge must share a strong sense of reform. Moreover, these leaders must be able to enunciate their reform program with persuasive clarity.

Third, the leaders of a right-wing rally must have a strong commitment to implement liberal democracy. The purpose of any right-wing rally must be to vitiate the factors that allow the left wing to flourish. That purpose can be met in this country only by implementing a system of liberal democracy as firm as rock. Thus those who lead the right-wing rally not only will be free of any personal doubt about liberal democracy, they must be willing to strongly oppose those forces which would hinder liberal democracy, even if those forces originate from within the right-wing camp itself.

The people of this country retain the memory of unfortunate right-wing assistance to dictatorship in this country, dictatorship which destroyed the structure of liberal democracy. If we fail to cleanse this unfortunate association of dictatorship and the right-wing movement from the minds of the people, then the broad masses will withhold their support from the right-wing rally. The powers who lead the right-wing rally, therefore, will have the background and the methods needed to cleanse this unfortunate association from the minds of the Korean people. These leaders must be people whose commitment to liberal democracy is irrefutable.

Those within the right wing who meet the three conditions I've just enumerated can be called the "new right wing," or the "reformist right wing." Few among the right-wing leaders of this country were properly armed with theory in the past, many had ethical deficiencies in their background and life styles, and many had only a weak commitment to reform. Among these past leaders, many opposed liberal democracy and cooperated with dictatorship. We can call these people the "old right wing." The prevailing situation dictates that if old right wing figures lead a right-wing rally, then failure will result.

In a right-wing rally to repel the left-wing challenge, we can make no distinction between the old right wing and the new right wing. Neither can we make a distinction between right-wing figures of the government and right-wing figures of the opposition. All right-wing forces in this country must rally as one. However, the new right wing, the reform right wing must lead the rally to increase the chances of achieving the goal of mastering and removing the left wing.

(Afterword. Since today's reality is that the left-wing attack on the right wing is growing stronger in every sector of society, the author is likely to be subject to persecution at the hands of the left wing. As a first step, the left wing and pretentious liberals will denounce the author as a McCarthyist. I shall never be a McCarthyist. In fact I hate McCarthyism. But they will denounce me as one anyway, with the result that I will be isolated in intellectual society. Extremist left-wing figures will use any means to visit psychological and bodily injury on the author. As things stand now, no organization or group of figures in this country can save me from that left-wing persecution. The government appears to be bereft of either the desire or the capability to do so. Right wing forces are not yet organized, and do not have the ability to thwart the persecution. I chose to write this paper, nevertheless, because I believe the future of this country will prove only too dismal if patriotic intellectuals with consciences are so afraid of left-wing persecution that they cannot warn about the challenge of the left wing, cannot urge a right-wing rally. If an intellectual who espouses a right-wing rally in a right-wing country must be subject to persecution, then the irony swells to disgusting and alarming proportions.)

(Editor's note: Mr Yang was born in 1945 in Sungju, South Cholla Province. He graduated from Seoul National University's Department of Political Science and worked as a reporter in the Foreign Affairs Department of the HAFTONG NEWS AGENCY. Mr Yang served as an editor at KYONHYANG SINMUN and as a professor at Kyunggi University. Mr Yang now serves as a professor at the Academy of Korean Studies. He has written many works, including *A History of Modern Korean Politics*.

#### ERRATUM: Persons Holding 'Real Power' in Sixth Republic

[In JPRS-KAR-88-019 of 26 September 1988, in the article "Persons Holding 'Real Power' in Sixth Republic," which begins on page 15, paragraphs three and four in column two on page 16 should read as follows:

On the other hand, the president's brother-in-law (wife's brother) Kim Pok-tong, who is also a classmate from the Military Academy (former president of the Mining Promotion Company) and another brother-in-law (husband of his wife's sister), Kum Chin-ho, who is a former Minister of Trade and Industry, should be included in the group, because they can advise and assist the president whenever the need arises.

Another person to be noticed is former Minister of Defense Chong Ho-yong. It is said that Mr Chong, who is a classmate from both Kyongbok High School and the Military Academy, enjoys a visible degree of respect and trust from his junior officers and is also a recipient of favorable comments among his senior officers.]

## ECONOMIC

### Four Large Conglomerates Plan 'Concentrated Investments' in Information Industry

41070111 Seoul MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN  
in Korean 25 Jul 88 p 5

[Text] Hyundai, Samsung, Lucky-Goldstar, and Daewoo, the four largest domestic conglomerates, are attempting to develop into international, all-round electronic companies in the 1990's by making concentrated investments in the industrial electronic sector, one of the high-tech industries.

This movement reflects a change in management strategy as the demand for office and factory automation equipment, such as personal computers, has greatly increased, while the rate of expansion of the market for home appliances, such as color TV's, refrigerators, and washers has slowed down since the late 1980's.

In the early 1990's, the industrial electronic market is expected to amount to \$300 billion out of the total \$500 billion for total world electronic market. The strategy is to participate actively in that market.

Lucky-Goldstar is combining all of the electric and electronic units in the group, and reorganizing them into four branches including home appliances, information and communication equipment parts and the business headquarters for semiconductors.

Along with its reorganization, Lucky-Goldstar has moved to industrial electric and electronic branches as its strategic business areas, and decided to invest a total of 250 billion won by 1990, including 95 billion won for this year's investment in robots, inverters, and elevators. It also decided to expand its factory automation and general engineering branches, and increase the sales of these products—as strategic export products—from 10 percent of the total export to 50 percent.

The industrial electronic branch of Lucky-Goldstar, with such expansion, is planning to become a top all-around electronic enterprise by increasing the proportion of the export of its products from the current 25 percent to around 60 percent of total exports, and increasing the total sales to 1 trillion won by 1991 and 50 trillion won by the year 2000.

Samsung Electronics and Samsung Semiconductor and Telecommunication, which will be merged as a new firm on 1 November, will temporarily divide up business in the areas of home appliance, information communication, and semiconductors. By 1991, it will increase the proportion of its sales in industrial electronics from 27 percent to 56 percent and achieve total sales of 8 trillion won.

To meet these goals, Samsung is planning to invest 100 billion won annually to foster growth in the areas of optic communication, computers, and office and factory automation.

The merger of the two companies will enable Samsung to secure investment capital amounting to 200-300 billion won and maximize its technological capacity. Samsung is planning to increase its ratio of sales of industrial electronics to home appliances from the current 15:85 to 38:62 after the merger, and to 56:44 by 1991. It also plans to increase its sales to 2.5 trillion won for information communications, 2 trillion won in semiconductors, and 3.5 trillion won in home appliances.

Daewoo Electronics is planning to increase the proportion of its industrial electronic products from 17 percent last year to 20 percent this year, to 25 percent by 1989, to 32 percent by 1990, and to 38 percent by 1991. It will

invest 70 billion won this year, 100 billion won in 1989, and 130 billion won in 1990—a total of 300 billion won for computer and news media related equipment, office and factory automation machinery, medical equipment, and automobile related machinery. The sales goal from those products is set at 1.3 trillion won for this year, 1.8 trillion won for 1989, 2.3 trillion won for 1990, and 3 trillion won for 1991. The investment in plant and equipment planned for 1991 is 180 billion won.

Hyundai is planning to foster the growth of Hyundai Electronics as its second major enterprise next to automobiles. It will invest 100-150 billion won annually until 1991 in industrial electronics such as information communication which totals 350 billion won, increasing its scales from the current level of 500 billion won to 1.5 trillion won.

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